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# NATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION POLICY, 1960-1976

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

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Department of International Economic and Social Affairs

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## PREFACE

Since the World Population Conference was held under the auspices of the United Nations in 1974 there has been growing interest among policy makers in the complex relationships between population and development, with population policy being an area of increasing concern.

The following study is one of a series of reports prepared during 1975 and 1976 by the Population Division of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, in an attempt to disseminate information among interested Governments and scholars on the experience of various Governments in formulating and implementing population policies. The series, when completed, is intended to include all countries in the world and examine the variety of situations and solutions adopted by Governments, which have often been determined by particular historical, political, socio-economic or cultural circumstances. The information included in the series would be useful to the national bodies assisting Governments in the area of population and related fields, as well as to the international organizations that are attempting to increase knowledge of the ways in which Governments may most effectively resolve problems associated with population.

Although the reports have been prepared with all possible care, there may possibly be errors or omissions. Comments or corrections from Governments would be appreciated.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The experience of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania in attempting to bring about a fundamental change in the country's societal structure at the same time as achieving technological and organizational modernization from extremely low base levels, and in the face of severe environmental constraints, has evinced widespread interest. The Government's approach to the harmonization of the demographic behaviour of the population with desired social and economic trends is also worthy of close attention. From an initial position with regard to population policy which might be characterized as essentially similar to that of the period of the trusteeship administration, the Government came first to formulate a comprehensive and sophisticated position with regard to the spatial distribution of the population, in urban as well as in rural areas. The programme of ujamaa vijijini in particular has been closely followed in Africa and elsewhere, but of equal interest has been the management of the expansion of the urban system, which has also been carefully planned and carried out. Somewhat later, the Government expanded its views of the most desirable system of health services within the over-all development strategy it had adopted. Finally, the Government developed views of the desirable relationship between mortality, fertility and natural increase at both the family and the national levels, and has gradually brought into existence appropriate programmes designed to ensure harmony between these relationships and its over-all social and economic strategy. The Government's experience in each of these areas may be valuable to many other Governments facing similar problems.

Although the achievement of independence occurred after the beginning of the period under discussion, and although a substantial reorientation of the Government's policy occurred in 1967, it was considered that to divide the period into two sections would be less valuable to the reader than to examine each of the aspects of the demographic situation for the entire period 1960-1976, thereby allowing the gradual evolution of the Government's experience to be followed.

## THE PERIOD 1960-1976

### The political and economic situation

A former League of Nations Mandated Territory and United Nations Trust Territory, the mainland section of the United Republic of Tanzania became independent in December 1961. The Government was formed by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), led by Julius Nyerere, who became President after establishment of a Republic in December 1962. The insular section of the United Republic, Zanzibar, which had been a British protectorate, became independent in December 1963, and experienced a revolution in January 1964 which removed from power the previous Arab ruler. In April 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

During the period 1964-1967 the Government was faced with the task of formulating its basic approach to development, once the goal of independence had been achieved. Internally some dissatisfaction was expressed with the slowness of change in the inherited colonial structure of the economy and society. Externally the Government was criticized by some developed countries for its position with regard to regional affairs, and the displeasure of principal providers of assistance was expressed in diplomatic breaks and termination of programmes by the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, forcing reconsideration of the methods needed to achieve greater economic independence. During the period President Nyerere developed further his ideological position, and this was expressed in a programme announced in 1967, which came to be known as the Arusha Declaration.

Developed further in the following years, and forming the basic guide for subsequent development plans, the Arusha Declaration emphasized the themes of egalitarianism and self-reliance. From 1967 onwards the trend in the Government's position was towards a fully socialist approach to national problems. This emerged both from the experience of attempting to implement the various development plans in the face of continuing dependence upon the world economic situation and upon external financial and technical assistance, and also from the experience of regional international affairs, notably the support needed by Zambia in its confrontation with the regime in Southern Rhodesia; the liberation war which ended in 1974 in the formation by FRELIMO of a government in Mozambique, and that country's subsequent fully socialist approach to its problems; and by relations with Uganda and Kenya, its close partners during the colonial period.

In February 1972 a further statement of collective goals, the Dar Declaration, indicated a further move towards a socialist position, and between 1975 and early 1977 particularly, constitutional changes were

made which incorporated the fundamental principles of socialism and self-reliance into the constitution, gave TANU legal supremacy as the national political party, and brought about a closer association of the two sections of the country (i.e., the Mainland and Zanzibar) expressed in the merger of TANU with the Zanzibari Afro-Shirazi Party to form the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

## Development planning

The United Republic of Tanzania has a long history of development planning, characterized since the mid 1960s by comprehensive plans, prepared by means of advanced methods and embracing all aspects of development and based upon carefully considered ideological guidelines.

During the trusteeship period plans were primarily public investment proposals which were not co-ordinated and not based upon either macro-economic analysis or upon any ideological base other than that of the gradual improvement of living standards within a largely unchanged colonial structure. Nevertheless, the development planning activities prepared the ground for later and more comprehensive planning by means of reviewing certain aspects of the situation with regard to environmental constraints and availability of natural resources. In 1944 an outline of post-war development proposals had been prepared, upon which was based a ten-year development plan for 1947-1956. This plan was revised in 1950, and on the basis of the recommendations of a Royal Commission Report completed early in 1956, a second plan was prepared for the period 1955-1956. As the trend towards independence quickened in 1958 and 1959, further improvement in planning was acknowledged to be necessary, and during 1959 and 1960 a mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD/World Bank) prepared an economic survey and recommended a three-year development plan.

By the time the World Bank mission had completed its report, African ministers had assumed a majority, and most of their efforts were concerned with achievement of independence at the end of 1961. During 1960 a development committee of the Council of Ministers was established but had no supporting planning staff until later in that year. In 1961 a development plan for Tanganyika was completed for the period of the three financial years 1961/62 to 1963/64. The plan did not identify macro-economic targets, and emphasized expenditure on long-term projects which would be the foundation for subsequent expansion. Emphasis was laid upon infrastructure projects in agriculture and livestock, public works, and secondary and technical education. Implementation was limited by problems of financing, insufficient personnel and interagency co-ordination.

During the period of implementation of the 1961-1964 plan substantial improvements in institutional arrangements for development planning were made. In 1962 an Economic Development Commission was established, consisting of a ministerial committee, a co-ordinating committee and a

planning secretariat under a director of planning who had been obtained on loan from the French Commissariat du Plan. The Commission prepared the first comprehensive plan for all sectors of activity, a five-year plan for economic and social development, July 1964-June 1969. At the outset of its preparation the Government and TANU had no firm socio-political ideological commitments and no detailed proposals. Drafting proceeded by means of a dialogue between the technical planning team and the Government. The plan was intended to be the first of three five-year plans to cover the period until 1980. Its central theme was that the country's poverty resulted "more from structural deficiencies in economic and social fields than from any real lack of potential within either of them. "This conclusion...opens perspectives for relatively rapid growth, once the impediments of a structural nature are eliminated." It called for rapid and radical changes in the make-up of production and employment, income distribution and consumption, international trade and productive-sector ownership. The planners made rough estimates of sectoral outputs, intersectoral flows, final demand patterns and technical co-efficients and concluded that the plan was basically internally consistent. It was ambitious given the low base in quality of infrastructure, labour force and institutions.

Institutional arrangements were strengthened with the establishment of a Directorate of Development and Planning within the Office of the President, which was vested with authority for "formulating, directing and co-ordinating the over-all social, economic and financial policies of the country. These policies are indeed inseparable..." Over-all co-ordination of development activity was given to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning, which remained responsible throughout the remainder of the period. A National Economic and Social Council was established to ensure full integration of all sectors, public and private, and an Economic Committee was established in the Cabinet.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning prepared a mid-term appraisal of the achievements made under the plan at the end of 1966, its findings being published in April 1967. It noted that there had been substantial success in implementation, but that re-allocation had been necessary because of the need to support Zambia after the unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia in 1965. Moreover, there had been drastic changes in over-all policy aspects and accordingly the plan had to be implemented against the background of the Arusha Declaration, and its emphasis upon self-reliance and rural development. Among the salient implications of the Declaration were stated to be export promotion, import rationalization, conservation of foreign exchange, encouragement to industries in the public sector, revitalization of the co-operative form of organization, more effective mobilization and direction of domestic savings and above all enhancement of the capacity of the public sector to undertake development.

During 1967 and 1968 preparation of a second five-year plan was made, taking into account the implications of the Arusha Declaration. President Nyerere, in his speech to the TANU Conference in May 1969 at which the

second five-year plan for economic and social development, for the period July 1969-June 1974, was discussed, noted that the Government had examined the achievements and failures of the first five-year plan in the light of the accepted objectives of the Arusha Declaration, socialism and self-reliance, and had adopted a policy of economic growth in a manner which would bring benefit to all. He stated that in 1964 the Government:

> "had not worked out at all clearly the implication of our socialist belief. As a result, we were simply trying to attract investment of any type, and the role of public enterprise appeared to be that of filling in gaps left by private investment...All this changed in 1967 when the Arusha Declaration was adopted...In the first plan we talked only in terms of increased production and our efforts were directed at encouraging greater output, even when this meant helping individual peasants to become employers of labour...The new plan...has socialist rural development at its very core...(it) is very different from the first. It is much more a statement of strategy and its projections into the future are not always as precise."

The second five-year plan incorporated five principles in its philosophy: social equality; ujamaa, that is the development of forms of economic activity which encouraged collective and co-operative efforts and avoided wide differences in wealth and income; self-reliance, through the maximum mobilization of domestic resources, particularly through mobilization of the people; economic and social transformation and expansion of productive capacity to create the basis for future economic and social transformation; and African economic integration. The plan included substantial institutional arrangements for regionalization of its implementation and review of programmes.

During the period of implementation of the second five-year plan, further elaboration of the Government's ideology occurred, culminating in 1972 with the Dar Declaration, which enunciated a more fully socialist approach to development. The process of "villagization", central to the rural development section of the plan, was speeded up, but in 1973 and 1974 a severe drought, affecting almost all of the country's provinces resulted in a severe economic crisis. This coincided with the global economic crisis which followed the rise in oil prices and subsequent inflation. In 1974 the Government allocated all foreign exchange reserves to the purchase of food, and as an emergency measure the production of cash crops was halted in favour of food production. Consequently, the third five-year plan, for the period July 1974-June 1979, was not announced, although various of its sectoral components appeared separately in various documents. By the end of the period under discussion, the plan had still not been launched, and development activities were controlled on an annual basis, with allocations made through a development budget. In 1977 President Nyerere reported on progress made in the first decade since the Arusha Declaration, pointing to major achievements in reducing inequalities and exploitation, increasing output and services and

strengthening national control over the economy. These would act as the foundation for a 1977-1981 plan and for the second decade of transition to socialism.

## Information on the general demographic situation and trends

During the trusteeship period various of the development plans and official reports commented upon the scarcity and unreliability of information concerning the demographic situation and its implications for the achievement of development goals. However, this scarcity was not absolute. In 1949 there had appeared the relevant volume of a demographic survey of the British colonial empire which reviewed what was known of the situation immediately after the Second World War. In the same year the United Nations published a comprehensive study of the population of Tanganyika, which was revised upon publication of the results of the census of the country undertaken in 1948 by the East African Statistical Department. The census results themselves, and the reviews which had been made of the situation, were supplemented by a number of academic studies, so that the Government at independence had available to it certain broad indications of what the most probable situation was at the time, although information on trends was unsatisfactory. The World Bank mission report in 1961 noted the need for improvement in statistical information on the economy, but did not include the scarcity of demographic information among those aspects requiring early improvement. In 1960 the statistical services, formerly a branch of the East African High Commission, came under the direct control of the Government, and the Bureau of Statistics remained a unit of the planning agency throughout the period under discussion.

The 1948 census had consisted of an attempted complete enumeration of the African population by households, followed by a 10 per cent sample later in the year. The results are considered by demographers to be reasonably accurate. In 1952 an interim census was taken in certain large towns. Between 1948 and 1957 medical and sociological surveys were undertaken in some rural areas. In 1957 a census was taken consisting of a general household enumeration of the African population, with a 5 per cent sample. Its final results were published in 1963. Because of insufficient control over sampling, the sampling error was reported to be large, and subsequently its analysis revealed an underenumeration. In 1958 a total enumeration had been undertaken in Zanzibar, but its results were considered unsatisfactory. In 1964 a labour survey was carried out under the sponsorship of the American Ford Foundation.

The 1964-1969 five-year plan had stressed the need for improved statistics, and in August 1967 the first comprehensive census was taken. The entire resident population was included. Questionnaires for the urban population included household composition, citizenship, literacy, education, economic status, fertility and mortality, ethnic origin, housing conditions and rent. Those for the rural population included household

composition, and age and sex of each member. For 20 per cent of the rural population further questions were asked, identical to that of the urban questionnaire, but excluding requests for information on housing conditions

Preliminary results were published late in December 1967. In August 1968 a study of recorded population changes for the period 1948-1967 was published, followed in December by provisional estimates of fertility, mortality and population growth. The first volume of results, statistics for enumeration areas, was published in 1969, followed by a second volume in 1970, on urban area statistics. In 1971 volumes three, demographic statistics; four, economic statistics; and five, census methodology, were published. In 1973 a final volume, consisting of a comprehensive analysis of census findings, was published jointly by the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning and the Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning (BRALUP) of the Ministry of Dar es Salaam.

The demographic information produced by this census and its analysis has been fully utilized. Preliminary results were used within the second five-year plan for 1969-1974. The Bureau of Statistics, BRALUP and other university departments, as well as foreign research organizations and individuals have prepared numerous studies on the basis of its findings, including studies of the implications of the demographic situation and trends for the achievement of development objectives.

The information so derived was utilized in discussions which formed part of a seminar on population growth and economic development held at the University of Nairobi in December 1969, as well as at the African Population Conference held in December 1971 in Accra. The availability of the information, and particularly its analysis and the publication of studies of implications for development contributed substantially to the evolution of the Government's position with regard to the demographic behaviour of the population.

However, by 1972 the Government considered that information on the situation, and particularly the assumptions currently used for the preparation of population projections, were fast becoming out of date. It obtained United Nations assistance in undertaking a programme of data collection to culminate in a comprehensive census in 1978.

## General policy with regard to the demographic situation and trends

Official reports and plans during the period of trusteeship included examination of certain aspects of the demographic situation and its implications. Particular attention was given to the distribution of rural population in relation to environmental constraints and land resources, and to trends in growth of the labour force. Of concern also was the

poor health status of the population, the possibility of widespread infertility and subfecundity, and problems associated with substantial labour migration within the country and across its frontiers.

After 1960, although these same aspects--and particularly spatial distribution and mortality--were noted, the Government did not consider the demographic situation to be so serious as to require its close attention. This position changed during the second half of the decade, and particularly after the results of the 1967 census became available, notably at a time when preparations were being made for a second five-year plan which would include within it the strategy based upon the Arusha Declaration. Thus the report of the World Bank mission published in 1961 contained only brief mention of salient demographic trends, although it contained a more detailed discussion of the availability of land resources in relation to rural population. The development plan for the period 1961/62-1963/64 similarly gave little specific attention to demographic behaviour of the population and its implications. Neither the Governments of Tanganyika nor of Zanzibar replied to the United Nations Population Inquiry on problems resulting from the interaction of economic development and population changes which was transmitted to them in 1963. Although the first five-year plan included references to the known demographic situation, and discussed many aspects with which the implications of demographic behaviour were closely associated, there was no comprehensive integration of the demographic sector within the plan. However, in the institutional arrangements for development planning which the plan recommended, and which were subsequently implemented, the Directorate of Development and Planning was given authority to formulate direct and co-ordinate all aspects of the Government's development efforts.

In contrast to the situation for the first five-year plan, the second plan, for the period 1969-1974 fully took into account the demographic situation and trends in all aspects of its analyses and recommendations. Moreover, the President, in his speech introducing the plan to the TANU Conference of May 1969, commented explicitly upon certain aspects of the implications of demographic situation for the development of the country. Since 1967, when the first provisional results of the 1967 census had been made available, and notably during 1968 when information on fertility, mortality and population growth trends were published and analysed, the Government had come to show a closer interest in fertility, mortality and natural increase, in addition to an expanded interest in spatial distribution of the population. The participation of demographic specialists responsible for the census operation and its subsequent analysis in both the Central Bureau of Statistics and the University of Dar es Salaam in the Seminar on Population Growth and Economic Development held at the University of Nairobi in December 1969 most probably increased the interest of specialists and the Government in the implications of the demographic situation for development, and particularly in the possibility of innovative adjustment of certain aspects of the situation.

Summaries of the demographic situation and trends, together with a quotation of President Nyerere's remarks on the demographic situation in his speech to the TANU conference, were presented by the Government's representatives at an Expert Group Meeting on Population held by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa in June 1970, and at the African Population Conference held at Accra in December 1971 under the auspices of that Commission, and of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), with the collaboration of the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Although assistance had already been sought from the United Nations with regard to collection and analysis of demographic statistics, the 1970s saw an increased involvement in discussions of population policy. In March 1973 a National Seminar on Trade Unions, Workers Education, Population and Family Planning Questions was held at Mwanza under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation and the National Union of Tanganyika Workers. The conclusions which were arrived at were translated into recommendations which for the first time included a statement of desirable positions with regard to natural increase and fertility. In the same month the Government replied to the Second United Nations Inquiry on population growth and development, although it provided only a summary of information on the demographic situation and trends prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, and no statement of policy.

In spite of the concerns of the Government with the serious drought and financial situation, and the resultant interruption in development planning, the Government participated fully in the activities associated with the United Nations World Population Conference held at Bucharest in August 1974. It was represented at the regional consultation preparatory to the Conference held at Addis Ababa in May 1974. At the Conference itself, its representatives played a very active role, the leader of the delegation making a comprehensive statement of the Government's views of population problems and their solution, and other members of the delegation contributing actively to the debates on the draft World Population Plan of Action. The Government was represented also at the Post-World Population Conference Consultation held at Lusaka in April 1975, at which an attempt was made to formulate a regional variant of the World Population Plan of Action for Africa.

In September 1974 a Workshop on Social and Economic Development and Population Change in Tanzania was held at the University of Dar es Salaam, and the following month a national symposium on population and development was held under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation and the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, which had taken a close interest also in the September workshop and in the March 1973 seminar. The latter symposium reflected the Government's position that problems of mortality, fertility and natural increase were most relevant to the welfare of the individual and to the productivity of the labour force, rather than to the national aggregate level in respect of total population size and rate of growth.

The postponement of adoption of a third five-year plan, and deferment of any publication of comprehensive plans precluded the incorporation of the Government's position on population in such a document, which might have been expected shortly before the holding of the World Population Conference. No further statement of the Government's position is known to have been made until in May 1976, when it replied in full to the United Nations Third Population Inquiry, concerning population policies in the context of development in that year.

## Size and growth of the population

### Information available to the Government

During the 1920s and 1930s available information suggested that the small population was actually declining as a consequence of the severity of the colonial occupation. The situation was not alleviated by the economic crises of the 1930s and war-time conditions in the 1940s, when few resources were available to combat high mortality and possibly widespread sterility. In the 1949 United Nations review of the situation rates of increase were described as indeterminate: it was not then known if the population was increasing or decreasing. However, the revised version of this report, based upon the results of the 1948 census, concluded that the population was rising at a steady annual rate of about 1.0 per cent. However, concern that low fertility and high sterility existed in conditions of high mortality was indicated by the number of studies of populations during this period, notably in the coastal regions, believed to be suffering demographic stagnation.

The results of the 1957 census were referred to by the World Bank mission report, which noted a total population of 8.7 million, and an annual rate of natural increase among the African population of about 1.6 per cent, stated to be a reflection not only of high mortality but of relatively low fertility. The development plan for 1961/62-1963/64 did not refer to a rate of population growth, but between 1957 and 1965 official estimates placed the rate of growth at about 2 per cent, a rise from 1.75 per cent during the period 1948-1957. This was the estimate used for the preparation of the five-year plan for 1964-1969. From 1965 until the results of the 1967 census became available it was estimated that the annual rate was about 2.2 per cent. In 1964 the total population was estimated at about 9.6 million, on the basis of the application of these estimated rates of growth to the 1957 census results.

The provisional results of the 1967 census indicated a total population of 12.3 million, significantly higher (by 1.4 million) than had been estimated on the basis of the application of assumed rates of growth to the 1957 census. Later comparison of the detailed results of the two censuses suggested a substantial undercount in the former. The adjusted rate of intercensal natural increase in 1967 was estimated at 2.5 per cent, and it was presumed that rates would be 2.7 per cent

during the period 1967-1975. It was this rate of 2.7 per cent which was adopted by President Nyerere in his speech of May 1969, introducing the second five-year plan, prepared in the knowledge of the larger size in population and higher rates of growth. It was considered that these might have resulted from a slight increase in fertility as well as a decline in mortality.

By 1975 the population was close to 15 million and the rate of growth, 3 per cent. Projections prepared on the basis of the 1967 census indicated that by 1980 the total population of the mainland section of the country would be about 17 million (between 16.9 and 17.4 million) with a rate of growth of between 2.9 and 3.2 for the period 1975-1980. In early 1977 a population total of 16 million and a rate of increase of 2.8 per cent were reported. However, final analysis revealed a lower rate of growth--between 2.5 and 2.6 per cent during the period 1967-1970.

Government perception of size and growth
in relation to development objectives

Prior to independence most reports and plans suggested that no major problem would be encountered if the population were to become larger. With regard to the availability of natural resources there was general agreement that these were vast in comparison with their actual rate of use by the population, but it was acknowledged that utilization would require considerable investment and a rise in the technological level of the labour force, particularly in agriculture. At the existing low levels of technology, certain areas already showed signs of high pressure upon soil and water resources. However, in certain of these high density areas, labour-intensive and environmentally protective production systems had evolved which were capable of producing a substantial surplus. It was acknowledged that the rising population required more food, and it was noted that until the early 1950s there had been a food deficit, met by imports. Problems were attributed to the rapid expansion of the modern urban sector, and to migration of adult males from high density areas. The potential labour force available for the modern sector was considered adequate, but characterized by very low levels of productivity. However, the different patterns of distribution of modern activities and the traditional sector had resulted in large-scale labour migration movements. Because of regional deficiencies, substantial immigration of labour occurred. Some reports indicated that the small size of population compared to resources, and also compared to the theoretical size necessary to support an internal market, might act as a constraint as the modern sector expanded. In general it was considered that the low levels of technology and the particular nature of organization of the economy and society were factors which intervened in any attempt to relate the impact of the demographic situation to development.

The World Bank mission report repeated the above views, stressing the country's natural resource potential and the constraints, environmental and human, upon its effective use. It stated explicitly that "it is a fair generalization that Tanganyika has no problem of population

pressure analogous to that of many Asian countries." However, it warned that "although over-all population density in Tanganyika is low, land of good productive potential is not so plentiful that erosion and deterioration of (soil) fertility can be treated as unimportant".

The first five-year plan identified societal structure as the constraining factor upon utilization of the country's "not inconsiderable natural resources":

> "A thorough analysis of this state of affairs leads to the conclusion that the poverty of the country results more from structural deficiencies in economic and social fields than from any real lack of potential within either of them. This conclusion is an encouraging one for the future growth prospects of Tanganyika and opens perspectives for relatively rapid growth, once the impediments of a structural nature are eliminated."

The plan indicated the Government's awareness that declining mortality, assumed capable of extending life expectancy at birth from between 35 and 40 years at the time to 50 years by 1980, would increase dependency. However, it believed that resultant problems would be resolved by higher productivity.

A survey conducted by a foreign demographer in 1965 requested a statement of the Government's position from each of the member countries of the British Commonwealth in tropical Africa. The reply received from the United Republic of Tanzania was that the Government believed that the country would benefit from a much larger population. In 1968 an American Government handbook reported that, although surprised at the results of the 1967 census, which revealed a population 1.4 million greater than previously estimated, and with a higher rate of natural increase, the Government considered the total enumerated, 12.3 millions, to represent a condition of underpopulation.

In the Arusha Declaration it was stated that:

> "The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different; they are (i) people; (ii) land; (iii) good policies; (iv) good leadership. Our country has more than 10 million people and its area is more than 362,000 square miles."

The emphasis of the Declaration was upon hard work and appropriate organization and allocation of efforts.

In a review of the first two years since the Arusha Declaration prepared by staff at the University of Dar es Salaam and officially published in 1969, it was noted that few Tanzanians considered that there

were too many people in the country compared to their resources or that their population was increasing too rapidly. Their unconcern was based upon the low over-all density and the assumed relatively low rate of population growth. Nevertheless, it was pointed out that substantial revision of drafts of sections of the second five-year plan for 1969-1974 had been necessary because of the higher size of population. The plan contained a substantial indication of the Government's perception of the acceptability of population size and growth, and of the desirability of its adjustment. In his speech introducing the plan to the TANU conference of May 1969 President Nyerere pointed out the differences which the Arusha Declaration had imposed upon the second compared to the first plan. The first plan had been prepared without a clear understanding of the implications of the socialist strategy which the Government was then working towards. Consequently, it had "simply tried to attract investment of any type" and had "talked only of increased production". Since the Arusha Declaration changes had begun, notably with the start of the programme of rural development ujamaa vijijini, described as "a programme of integrated rural development which leads in the direction of the kind of socialist society we are trying to create". This change from the more normal emphasis upon production and quantity rather than quality was relevant also to the Government's perceptions of the implications of population size, and particularly of the rate of natural increase. It was associated particularly with the questions of dependency, the quality of life and the quality of human resources.

President Nyerere noted the implications of a rate of natural increase of 2.7 per cent then known to exist rather than that of 2.2 per cent which had been assumed at the beginning of plan preparation, and during the period of the first plan. He noted that the chances of a child attending primary school were actually less than previously thought possible; thus, the census had revealed that the proportion of those attending school was 46 per cent in 1964 rather than the 50 per cent which had been calculated on the basis of demographic estimates, as the increase in that school-age population was already known to be higher than expected. The President continued with an explicit discussion of the relationship between long-term advantages of an increased population and the short-term problems which that involved. It is important that this section of his speech be quoted in full so that the significance of the comparison may be appreciated:

> "Before I leave this question of primary school education for our children, I want to discuss one other thing which is related to it. I have already pointed out that when we took the census we discovered that our population was increasing at a faster rate than we had assumed when we prepared the First Plan. We had worked on the assumption that the total population of Tanzania was about 10 million, but the census showed that in fact it was 12.25 million. We had also thought that the annual rate of increase was 22 for every thousand people; we discovered that the annual rate of increase was 27 for every thousand people. And that

means that in the coming five years our population will increase by 350,000 people every year.

"The thing I want to say is this. It is very good to increase our population, because our country is large and there is plenty of unused land. But it is necessary to remember that these 350,000 extra people every year will be babies in arms, not workers. They will have to be fed, clothed, given medical attention, schooling, and many other services for very many years before they will be able to contribute to the economy of the country through their work. This is right and proper and is in accordance with the teachings of the Arusha Declaration. But it is obvious that just as the number of our children is increasing, so the burden on the adults--the workers--is also increasing. Giving birth is something in which mankind and animals are equal, but rearing the young, and specially educating them for many years, is something which is a unique gift and responsibility of men. It is for this reason that it is important for human beings to put emphasis on caring for children and the ability to look after them properly, rather than thinking only about the numbers of children and the ability to give birth. For it often happens that men's ability to give birth is greater than their ability to bring up the children in a proper manner."

Elsewhere in his speech President Nyerere pointed out that the people of the country were its real developers as well as being the purpose of development, and the plan itself noted that "the most important source of expansion in the Tanzanian economy is the enthusiasm and efforts of the people, working on the land throughout the country."

From 1969 until 1974 the Government's perception of the acceptability of population size, structure and growth remained essentially that which was stated by President Nyerere in his speech to the TANU conference, but it nevertheless underwent considerable refinement and elaboration. Thus the Government's statement at the Expert Group Meeting on Population held under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in June 1970 merely repeated the President's points concerning increased dependency and the need for quality rather than quantity. Its statement at the African Population Conference in December 1971 included a very similar summary and quotation, although introducing it by the comment that "in view of the plentiful resources available in the form of unused land, no population policy has so far been adopted..." However, further analysis of the census results, and in particular analyses of the relationship between distribution of population, productivity and environmental constraints upon the utilization of land and water resources made by BRALUP indicated the difficulties involved in their utilization. A UNESCO study was made of the relationship between

population growth and costs of education in the country. Up to and including 1972, food production had been adequate and no imports of food staples had been necessary. This situation was to change drastically in 1973 and particularly in 1974, when the food crisis became so severe that almost all foreign exchange was spent on importing emergency food supplies, and a high proportion of export crops were abandoned in favour of food production.

The National Seminar on Trade Unions, Workers Education, Population and Family Planning Questions held in March 1973 under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation and the National Union of Tanganyika Workers resulted in the adoption of conclusions which were presumably transmitted to the Government as it was attended by the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. In general the seminar recognized that the mere availability of resources, whether natural and human, without the means for their effective utilization was not sufficient, and that it was essential to ensure that the rate of development exceeded that of population growth.

However, a programme of research into the relationships between demographic trends and development in the high population density Rungwe area of south-western Tanzania, for which results became available during 1974, indicated that technological and organizational factors were the primary constraints upon rapid development, and not the demographic situation. One of the reports concluded that:

> "...The limited impact of changes in the demographic factor on the short run /the period covered in the calculation was 19 years/ becomes abundantly clear. In addition, one may conclude that the relative impact of population growth and, consequently, of population planning programmes, is for this case far outweighed by such structural measures as higher and stable prices for the main export products...
>
> "...In view of the prevailing low standard of living any birth control programmes would meet very little success. Moreover, experiences over the period 1948-1967 demonstrate that such a programme, even if highly successful, would have a smaller impact on the per capita income than stable world market prices for the main cash crops and technological improvement in agriculture. Consequently, structural changes in the world economy have more effect than birth control programmes in raising the standard of living."

It is most probable that these and other findings of the very active research programmes of the period were noted by the Government, whose position at this time was essentially similar with regard to the demographic situation and its implications for the country as a whole.

In his statement at the United Nations World Population Conference in August 1974 the head of the delegation from the United Republic of Tanzania strongly identified structural factors, and particularly those which expressed the nature of the international economic and political order, as basically responsible for problems associated with the demographic situation. He noted that:

> "A population policy, in order not to be misdirected, must therefore be based on a concrete realization of the present world socio-economic situation. A population policy cannot be based on a bogey in the minds of some, born out of the fear to lose what they now hold, rightly or wrongly, nor can it be born out of a misconception as to the capacity of third world countries to deal with their populations, given conditions of fair-play and equitable economic relationships. All policies based on such bogeys and misconceptions will not succeed: they are bound to fail."

The representative pointed out that Africa in particular among developing regions had suffered severely from colonialism and slavery. However, this experience had taught them that

> "...for us, people, populations are a development asset, the present history of continuing decolonization is great testimony of this--the creative and over-abundant power of the people to surmount all obstacles.
>
> "If there is a problem, therefore, with our populations, with our various peoples, the problem and solution must be sought elsewhere and not in their numbers, the solution cannot be in keeping with our number (unchanged), for we shall not be richer by that token. We will have perhaps only succeeded in distributing our poverty among fewer and fewer, and no more."

In a comparison of the relative situations of the nine countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) on the one hand, and the group of 44 countries in Africa, the Carribean and the Pacific, on the other hand, which were negotiating new economic relations with the nine, the head of the delegation pointed out that the nine countries had a total population which was only slightly less than that of the 44, but their land area was only 7.5 per cent. Consequently, if arithmetic measures of population pressure were being used as an argument for the need for population reduction, the greater need was not among the 44 countries. The inadequacy of the argument that resources were insufficient was brought out by comparing the per capita income of the nine countries, which had no greater basic resources than the 44. Some EEC countries had an income per capita 35 times greater than that of the United Republic of Tanzania, which had a land area of 1 million square kilometres. The EEC countries commanded 60 times more wealth than the 44 countries.

The head of the delegation concluded that:

> "We in Tanzania recognize this simple economic phenomenon. We reject therefore the suggestion that we have a population problem. We recognize indeed the problem of feeding, clothing and housing 14 million people out of a GDP which is just about $13 billion but the problem of feeding our people is not a problem of our numbers, it is the result of the inequitable economic relationships that exist today. Any meaningful population programme must first seek to redress this inequality, so that all our nations can realize fully the potential of their own resources and receive the correct share of the fruits of the global economic effort..."
>
> "...even if by some unimaginable calamity, the population of Tanzania was to be reduced by half, this would only give us an income per capita of only $200...Such change cannot be said to signify a solution to the so-called 'population pressure' in Tanzania..."

The delegate concluded that a solution should be found in a new economic order as envisaged in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly earlier in the year:

> "We believe that the cardinal principle of our action will be and must be to match resources and development to population and not population to resources and development."

The head of the delegation also pointed to the implications of the high levels of mortality for the availability of human resources:

> "...our average life expectation is 45 years. Our people cannot yet enjoy the privilege of serving their nation until well over 70 years as is the case in most developed countries. Our priority, therefore, must be to ensure that this productive age group is constantly replenished by the children that must be born today. But we are not cynics that would prefer children born just anyhow. Within the economic constraints we have a dynamic child-spacing programme. This is necessary in order to ensure that those who are born receive adequate care...We reject the materialist approach to population. We believe that in the last analysis, children are not produced by countries developed or developing but by human beings, and any human being cannot be described as 'developed' or 'developing'."

The themes elaborated at the World Population Conference were taken up at a Workshop on Social and Economic Development and Population Change held at the University of Dar es Salaam in September 1974, and at a

National Symposium on Population and Development held in October under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation. Both were attended by the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, who was also President of the Family Planning Association, who noted that the country was not at the time overpopulated despite the fact that much of its areas was infertile and semi-arid. The threat was not one of mere size of population, for all available resources had not been exhausted. However, the Government was carefully considering the situation. The dangers of mothers having too many children were recognized as twofold--in the short-run and immediate sense, it represented a burden on the health of the mother, who had substantial economic and social obligations in addition to the bearing and rearing of children. And in the longer-term sense, it would result in a weak population, incapable of the productivity required for development and constituting a threat for the health of future generations.

During the remainder of 1974 and during 1975 no further statements were made of the Government's perception of the acceptability of population size, structure and growth. In 1975 drought conditions ended, and in 1976 the rate of economic growth reached 3.5 per cent, after a two-year period of zero growth. The over-all approach to development problems shifted towards a fuller socialist pattern, in response particularly to analysis of the nature of the international economic system and it is unlikely that any significant change in the Government's position as expressed at the World Population Conference occurred.

In May 1976 it transmitted its reply to the United Nations Third Population Inquiry concerning population policies in the context of development. It noted that in general the contemporary rate of population growth simultaneously contributed to and constrained the achievement of various development objectives. However, it had no view as to whether the rate of growth could be described as satisfactory or not, for reasons which were, it stated, other than those of insufficient information. However, in a detailed listing of the specific relationships between population growth and economic, social and other conditions, the Government stated that population growth contributed in a positive manner to all of them, with the exception of encouraging a desired income distribution, an appropriate generation of savings and an effective investment of capital. Thus it considered that contemporary rates of population growth contributed by providing a sufficient population to allow economic exploitation of natural resources, including food production, the maintenance of the environment and its conservation for future use and the supply of labour for economic expansion. It stimulated economic growth through key economic sectors and provided an adequately sized domestic market. It provided sufficient demographic dynamism to maintain national innovative capacity, and it supported national and cultural identity. It permitted the achievement of desired levels of replacement of the population. It was capable of ensuring effective socio-administrative structures to provide social infrastructure and services for all age groups.

In early 1977, within a request for assistance from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) for a project in population and family life education, communication and applied research in integrated rural development to be executed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in association with ILO, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization (WHO), the Government stated that:

> "In comparison to its present population of some 15 million Tanzania has a very large land area much of which, though empty at the present time, is suitable for habitation and development. The Government is therefore not particularly concerned with the rapid population growth of about 3 per cent per annum implying an annual addition of some 450 thousand and a doubling of the population over the next 25 years. The Government is however concerned with the high infant mortality rate of 160 per thousand live births, the high death rate of children under five years of age estimated at about 300-350 per thousand live births, and the high dependency ratio of nearly 100 with over 45 per cent of the Tanzanian population being under 15 years of age... In keeping with its decentralization policy, the Government also recognizes the responsibility of families and communities to take into account in their decision-making the relevance of demographic factors (including family size, intervals between births, infant and maternal mortality and morbidity, geographical distribution, rural/urban migration, population density and dependency ratios) within the overall consideration of responsibility in parenthood and family and community well-being."

Policy with regard to size and growth

During the period of trusteeship the administration had adopted policies which were designed both to adjust demographic behaviour of the population and to adjust technological and organizational factors to better suit the circumstances of small population size and low rate of growth. During the 1920s and 1930s it was emphasized that a major goal in the provision of health services, and also in attempting to improve food supplies, was the bringing about of an increase in population, and this policy was continued into the 1940s with the outline of post-war development proposals. The 1949 United Nations study of the demographic situation recommended actions to bring about an acceleration in increase. During the 1950s, possibly because it was known that rates of natural increase were in fact accelerating, greater emphasis was given to the redistribution of population from the areas of high densities into both adjacent areas and areas of new projects, often associated with irrigation schemes. This "relief of congestion" approach was to be supported by mechanization, but that solution fell into some dispute after the total failure of the "ground-nut scheme" of the late

1940s and early 1950s. To a large extent, the design of projects was adjusted to the availability of labour.

The World Bank mission report made no recommendations concerning adjustment of demographic behaviour, other than to continue with what it termed the "transformation" approach to rural development, involving resettlement. This was to be complementary to an "improvement" approach, involving the technological advance of the rural population in situ. These recommendations were included within the Development Plan for 1961/62-1963/64, which assigned a rate of economic growth of 5.6 per cent, which, it may be assumed, was considered to allow for an adequate margin over the rate of population growth of 1.6 per cent, although this relationship was not explicitly stated.

The first five-year plan, for the period 1964-1969, which assumed a total population of 9.6 million and a rate of growth of 2.2 per cent, suggested no adjustment in demographic behaviour, although emphasis was given to continued expansion of health services, and the "transformation approach" to rural development was expanded, with proposals to resettle 1 million persons in settlement schemes during the period 1964-1980. Most of the measures included in the plan were, in addition to their purposes in respect of various goals, technological and organizational responses to the demographic situation. Increasing dependency was noted, but its solution was stated to be an increase in the productivity of the working population. The increase in national income was placed at an annual rate of 6.7 per cent, sufficient to ensure an increase in per capita income of 4.6 per cent (double the rate during the previous plan period) and consequently a 50 per cent increase in per capita income during the plan period.

In 1965 the survey of population policies of African Commonwealth countries obtained a reply from the Government indicating that it regarded as unnecessary any attempt to reduce the rate of natural increase. In 1969 it was reported that the authorities were reluctant to attempt to limit fertility.

The Arusha Declaration emphasized the benefits to be obtained from higher labour productivity, together with appropriate technological and organizational change. The second five-year development plan, for the period 1969-1974, reflected these basic approaches, although introducing an indication of a change in its policy toward demographic behaviour. The plan noted that the preceding plan had adopted a target of 6.7 per cent for expansion of gross domestic product, but had in fact managed a rate of only 5.0. Moreover, the rate of population growth, assumed to have been 2.2 per cent, had been in fact much higher, between 2.5 and 2.7 per cent. Improvement per capita had been at a rate of between 2.3 and 2.5 per cent instead of the 4.6 per cent planned for. The second five-year plan had adopted a target for aggregate economic growth of 6.5 per cent in real terms. The expected increase in the labour force was to be absorbed largely in rural development, which would be designed to increase productivity in existing settled areas to a much greater extent than previously.

The new element of the Government's policy, that with regard to fertility, mortality and natural increase rates, was not included in the plan itself, but was suggested in President Nyerere's speech to the TANU conference in which it was introduced. However, although indicating its position that quality of child care and health was more important than numbers, there was no specific policy announcement in the plan, and the section on maternal and child health, although proposing substantial expansion, did not include reference to the introduction of any family planning element.

In June 1970, in its country statement for an Expert Group on Population held at Addis Ababa, the Government quoted this section of the President's speech under the heading of "population programming", and noted at the same time that recently the government medical staff had been permitted to co-operate with the Family Planning Association in introducing family planning into their services. In December 1971 the statement made to the African Population Conference also quoted this section of the President's speech, noting that family planning had been recognized as part of health education.

At the same time, increasing emphasis was placed upon the programme of "villagization", or ujamaa vijijini, and this was viewed not only as a means of providing better services to a concentrated rural population, but as a means of setting the labour force to work to utilize previously underused natural resources. However, this programme was severely affected by the 1973-1974 period of drought.

The Government's statement to the World Population Conference in August 1974 strongly rejected the reduction of natural increase and indicated the Government's view that a change in world economic relations, and in particular the establishment of a new international economic order as called for at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, would provide the underlying and essential solution to all problems with which the demographic behaviour of the population was associated. However, it noted that a "dynamic child-spacing programme" had been begun in order that:

> "...those who are born receive adequate care, that also their mothers remain in healthy conditions to be able to give care to these children. We are endeavouring to achieve this by stressing the educational approach, so that whatever is desired to be achieved will be achieved without loss of human dignity and social cohesion."

The Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, in a speech opening a National Symposium on Population and Development in October 1974, stated that there was a need for production programmes which would be viable and would balance high levels of dependency by employing primary school leavers within rural areas. The aim of the Government was to reduce mortality, but "...by doing so we should be aware that the crude birth rate would normally increase unless some method regulating fertility is introduced and accepted by our people."

If no such regulation were achieved, the balance between social service provision and population would be upset. In September, the Minister had stated to a Seminar on Social and Economic Development and Population Change that:

> "...If family planning services are not part of the set of health services available to all the people, then family planning will continue to be a facility available only to the well-to-do families who are already converted to the idea. And this will continue to perpetuate existing social inequalities. The opportunity for parents to consciously plan the number and spacing of their children was important both in terms of enhancing the well-being of themselves and their children, and in the beneficial effect this can have on their capacities to contribute to the productivity of the nation."

In its reply to the Third United Nations Population Inquiry in 1976, which it transmitted in May of that year, the Government noted that it considered that the most appropriate response to constraints imposed by population growth upon economic and social development was to attempt to adjust both economic and social factors and demographic factors simultaneously. It stated that it had no formulated policy with regard to adjustment of economic and social factors for this purpose, but it had a policy with regard to demographic factors. This included adjustment of mortality, fertility and internal distribution of the population. However, it stated that it did not have a policy intended to modify the effect of fertility on population growth, and it may be presumed that the Government considered that its programmes in mortality and fertility (primarily maternal and child health, including family planning) were regarded as being responsive to rates of natural increase and concerned with purely qualitative goals rather than intended at least primarily to change them.

## Morbidity and mortality

### Information available to the Government

Because of an acknowledged scarcity of statistics, the administration during the period of trusteeship was usually unable to specify the level of mortality, although all reports and plans indicated that it was assumed to be very high. The revised United Nations demographic study published in 1953 estimated crude death rates as between 30 and 35 per thousand. It was, however, believed that the situation was improving. The World Bank mission report gave no statistics, only noting that mortality was high. On the basis of the 1957 census, and on studies of health conditions among certain populations, it was estimated in the late 1950s that the crude death rate was about 25 per thousand, with considerable regional variation. Life expectancy was between 35 and 40

years on the mainland, between 40 and 45 years in Zanzibar. Infant mortality rates were 190 and 160 per thousand live births. This latter was attributed to malaria, intestinal parasites and venereal diseases.

The 1967 census made possible a substantial increment in knowledge of mortality, and an early analysis was made available in 1968. Crude death rates were found to be about or slightly below 20 per thousand population, infant mortality about 150-160 per thousand live births and life expectancy at birth slightly over 40 years. By 1971 adjustments had been made, resulting in a crude death rate of 22 per thousand population, infant mortality rate of 160 per thousand live births, and life expectancy at birth between 41 and 43 years. These statistics were generally retained until the end of the period under discussion, although in its statement at the United Nations World Population Conference in August 1974 the Government noted a life expectancy of about 45 years. On the basis of the 1967 census results, together with field studies and a general expansion of health facilities reporting morbidity and mortality, it became clearer toward the mid 1970s that there existed very considerable regional variations in morbidity and mortality, largely responding to the accessibility of health facilities. Thus in Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions in the north-east the crude death rate was estimated in 1967 to have been 13.6 per thousand population whereas in the south-west, in the region of Mbeya, it was 30.7. Life expectancy varied between 53 years (the same as that in urban areas) and 34 years. Studies indicated that measles, tuberculosis and tetanus were among the principal threats to infants and children, while nutritional inadequacies were endemic.

Government perception of levels of morbidity and mortality

During the period prior to independence the concern of the administration was for a long time that of the impact of high morbidity and mortality upon rates of natural increase, not only directly, but by means of the constraint upon fertility. During the 1950s, assuming that health improvements were already significant, and under pressure from both the Trusteeship Council and the nationalist movement, greater emphasis came to be placed upon welfare aspects, although concern with the productivity of the labour force remained.

Since independence the Government's concern has been with each of these three aspects, although fears that mortality was unduly constraining natural increase declined toward the end of the 1960s, when the extent of the acceleration in natural increase became known. The Arusha Declaration gave first priority to welfare, stating that quality in the development process was more important than quantity. In his speech introducing the second five-year plan to the TANU conference in May 1969 President Nyerere emphasized the importance of providing proper maternal and child health, and of bringing about a vast improvement in nutrition. The previous slow progress in health improvement was noted. In his speech at the World Population Conference the Government's representative pointed out that "our people cannot yet enjoy the privilege of

serving their nations until well over 70 years as is (the case) in most developed countries", the average life expectancy being 45 years. During the discussions at the Seminar in September and at the National Symposium in October, emphasis was upon child and maternal health, not only for welfare reasons, although these were considered justification in themselves, but also with regard to productivity which was considered highly constrained by ill-health and inadequate nutrition. In its reply to the Third United Nations Population Inquiry on population policies in the context of development in 1976 the Government stated that average life expectancy was unacceptable. It was hoped that this would reach a level of between 50 and 54 years by 1985. It stated that children under 5, women of child-bearing age, and the rural population in general were the most disadvantaged sections of the population.

Policy with regard to morbidity and mortality

Although the 1944 Outline of Post-War Development Proposals had included improved health services as one of four basic fields of development, the various plans of the period prior to independence had allocated but small proportions of their resources to this sector. Moreover, most expansion was in the main urban areas and involved curative facilities. However, during this period as before, religious missions provided substantial services to the rural populations in some regions.

The World Bank mission report did not include a discussion of health or supporting services as it considered its mandate restricted to productive sectors. In the development plan for 1961/62-1963/64 proposals for the health sector consisted of the continuation of previous programmes. It was acknowledged that progress had been very slow: by the end of the plan period the 1949 target of one district hospital bed per thousand population would not yet have been reached. This slowness was stated to be:

> "...inevitable during the next three years, when the maximum part of the limited resources of the territory must be invested in economic and educational development, whose object is to produce the greater resources needed to sustain adequate social services, including adequate medical services".

The balance between preventive and curative facilities (and hence between rural and urban facilities) was still to be biased in favour of the latter:

> "It is essential to have a well-balanced medical service and although preventive and social medicine have more lasting beneficial effects, a certain minimum coverage of curative medicine is necessary as well. For obvious reasons curative medicine is demanded by the people, a demand which is growing all the time. Its very popularity serves to introduce and make acceptable to them the teaching of preventive medicine."

The first five-year plan, for the period 1964-1969, was intended to improve the general standard of living and preventive health services so that by 1980 life expectancy could reach 50 years. A reduction in infant mortality was considered to have high priority, and some shift toward preventive rural services was incorporated, forming the first segment of a long-term plan for the period 1964-1980.

In his speech introducing the second five-year plan for the period 1969-1974 President Nyerere stated that the objectives included provision of adequate diet, sufficient clothing, adequate housing and education. All would contribute to an improvement in the general health status of the population. The plan itself pointed out that during the first plan period scarcity of resources and the heavy priority placed on other sectors:

> "...resulted in substantial neglect in the development of health services. Although continued financial stringency demands restraint in the growth of health expenditures, the Second Plan will allocate much more substantial resources to health development than was possible in the past.
>
> "Past expansion in medical training will begin to bear fruit and continued expansion of training facilities will ensure a steady future growth of medical personnel, which is likely to be even more important than capital investment programmes in improving the coverage of medical facilities.
>
> "Although the intention is to concentrate on the expansion of preventive medicine, the poor initial state and heavy capital costs of curative facilities (notably hospitals) inevitably results in developments in curative health facilities demanding an important share of the available capital."

During the early 1970s considerable assistance was received from the United Nations system, notably FAO, WHO and UNICEF, in the expansion of maternal and child health facilities. A very ambitious programme was funded by the Swedish Development Agency (SIDA). Concern for maternal and child health led to the progressive incorporation within the maternal and child health services of family planning, described by the Government's representative at the United Nations World Population Conference as a "dynamic child-spacing programme". In order to safeguard nutritional standards, the Government during 1973 and 1974 spent the greater part of foreign currency reserves on the import of food during the severe drought which affected almost all regions.

During the period from 1969 the Government made substantial efforts to make up for previous slow progress in the provision of basic rural preventive health services. During 1975-1980 it is intended to expand

these services to reach 90 per cent of pregnant mothers and young children in rural areas. However, in 1976 it was reported that of 108 health centres and 1,555 dispensaries few yet had maternal and child health centres.

Despite the slowness in expansion into rural areas, the Government, particularly since 1969, has adopted a number of additional measures to improve health services. Full medical education is provided within the country, and a wide range of auxiliary personnel are trained. In December 1976 private hospitals and medical practices were abolished.

## Fertility

### Information available to the Government

During the 1920s and 1930s there was widespread concern that levels of fertility were low, with a high incidence of sterility and subfecundity, notably in certain regions. The results of the 1948 census permitted the United Nations revised demographic study published in 1953 to estimate crude birth rates as between 40 and 45 per thousand population. During the late 1950s further studies were published of regions--notably the north eastern coastal area--in which infertility appeared to be high.

The World Bank Mission Report of 1961 stated that fertility levels were comparatively low. A study published in 1962 indicated that the Afro-Arab urban population in Zanzibar also suffered from high levels of infertility and subfecundity. The results of the 1957 census indicated a crude birth rate of about 46 per thousand on the mainland and about 30 per thousand (in 1958) in Zanzibar. The total number of live children born to women who had completed their childbearing years ranged between 3.5 and 4 in Zanzibar and some mainland areas to 6.3 in the northern agricultural regions.

Results of the 1967 census, made available in provisional form in 1968, indicated a crude birth rate per thousand population of 47, and a total fertility rate of 6.6. It was considered not impossible that there had been a slight rise in fertility levels during the previous decade, although inadequacies in the 1957 census material made verification of this difficult. Final analysis of the results, published in 1973, showed considerable variation between regions. The provisional indication of a crude birth rate of 47 per thousand and total fertility of 6.6 were confirmed.

During the period after publication of the census results a number of further studies were undertaken, and in the Rungwe region of the south-west a comprehensive study of the interrelationships between fertility and the socio-economic environment was undertaken. Although some studies indicated the possibility of an incipient decline in fertility in the more prosperous rural areas already adequately served by health facilities, and in the major urban areas, the decline was not yet obvious at the national level.

Government perception of levels and trends of fertility

Prior to independence the administration's concern was with the apparent widespread incidence of infertility. It was considered that this could be resolved by reduction in venereal diseases and improvement in nutrition.

Since independence, the Government has been concerned not so much with quantitative aspects of fertility, generally considered to be satisfactory, but with qualitative aspects. This was particularly the case after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, with its emphasis upon the qualitative aspects of development objectives. This was translated into the position taken by President Nyerere in his speech introducing the second five-year plan to the TANU conference in 1969. This has been described in detail in the section above on the Government perception of population growth. The emphasis was upon both a rapid reduction in the constraints of morbidity and mortality and also upon an increased ability to control the spacing of births. There was also a strong implication that quality was preferable to quantity in the matter of size of family.

This approach was emphasized also at the seminar and symposium held in September and October 1974, respectively. However, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, in his speech opening the latter, suggested that some limitation of any further rise in levels of fertility was desirable. Thus:

> "But by doing so /lowering mortality/ we should be aware that the crude birth rate would normally increase unless some method regulating fertility is introduced and accepted by our people."

In its reply to the United Nations Third Population Inquiry on population policies in the context of development in 1976, which the Government transmitted in May of that year, it stated that it considered that current levels of fertility simultaneously contributed to and constrained family welfare. They contributed positively by making possible the achievement of the desired number of children, by providing support for ageing parents, by ensuring continuity of families and by providing sufficient family labour. However, the incidence of infertility was too high, miscarriages and still births too frequent, birth intervals too short, induced abortion too frequent, maternal health, child and general family well-being inadequate. At the same time the Government stated that it considered the contribution made by fertility to rates of natural increase were satisfactory. Its view of age at marriage of women was constrained by insufficiency of information.

Studies in certain rural areas indicated that substantial proportions of women were interested in improving their ability to space the births of their children and to prevent births after certain desired numbers of

children had been reached. However, there was little indication of a widespread interest in reducing the desired number of surviving children.

Policy with regard to fertility

During the period of trusteeship no discussion of policy with regard to fertility was included in the various reports and plans with the exception of references to the need to expand health facilities in those areas where infertility was common. Contraceptives could be imported, sold and used, but this was significant only for the expatriate communities.

After independence the Government adopted a policy of not attempting to adjust fertility either quantitatively or qualitatively. In 1965, in response to an inquiry forming part of a survey of the policies of Commonwealth Governments in Africa, it stated that it did not consider the introduction of a family planning programme appropriate at that time.

In 1959 a Family Planning Association of Dar es Salaam had been established. In 1966 this became a rational association and was permitted, although not supported, by the Government. Its services were first provided in urban areas, gradually spreading from Dar es Salaam and major urban centres to smaller centres. In 1968 the Government's view of its activities was reported to be still cautious, although the Municipality of Dar es Salaam had plans to integrate family planning in its health services. Although in his speech of introduction to the second five-year plan President Nyerere in May 1969 had indicated that proper child care was more important than numbers, the plan itself had not included a family planning programme within its proposals for the expansion of maternal and child health services. However, in June 1970, in its statement to the Expert Group on Population held in Addis Ababa, the Government noted that although "no official population policy or programme has been outlined by the Government", recently all government medical staff had been permitted to make use of the services of the Family Planning Association in their clinical work in the field of maternal and child health. Staff from the Ministry of Health had been seconded for special training in the field of family planning.

In its statement to the African Population Conference in December 1971 the Government confirmed that no population policy had so far been adopted "but family planning as a part of the health education programme has been recognized by a number of voluntary social welfare organizations". It reported that the Family Planning Association, whose activities were then still largely confined to urban areas, was explaining the importance of child-spacing, and was training doctors, paramedical staff and health educators. It planned to extend this programme to all regions so that all interested persons could make use of family planning services if they wished.

During 1972 the activities of the family planning association expanded considerably, and the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare became

its Chairman. By March 1972 the Association itself operated four clinics in Dar es Salaam, while it provided supplies, training and advice to 106 clinics operated elsewhere in the country within government and voluntary agency hospitals. The Government had given duty free status to the association, allowing free imports, but no other financial assistance was yet given. However, in Zanzibar imports of contraceptives were prohibited and anti-abortion laws were strictly enforced.

In March 1973 a National Seminar on Trade Unions, Workers Education, Population and Family Planning Questions was held under the auspices of the International Labour Organization and the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA) in Mwanza. The seminar concluded that NUTA should expand its information and education efforts in the area of family planning. It was considered that much misinformation and misconception concerning family planning had been removed during the discussion and that "a new understanding of the advantages and usefulness of family planning is appreciated". The aims and objectives of the Family Planning Association were considered well conceived, and it was thought that the co-operation between it and the Government should be strengthened because of the significance of advice in child spacing and limitation and the wide need for health, nutrition and infertility services. The Seminar concluded that the principal cause of public indifference to the family planning programme was insufficient information and understanding of its purpose, although various other cultural and religious factors were present.

The consequences of the NUTA recommendations was a greater association of the Government with the work of the family planning association. At the United Nations World Population Conference in August 1974 the Government's representative stated that the country had a "dynamic child-spacing programme" which stressed an educational approach to the expansion of family planning services. Later in the same year the Government expressed concern that the provision of these services was too highly differentiated and favourable to the more privileged sections of the population, while still not being available to the sections most in need of its help. Thus, at the Seminar on Social and Economic Development and Population Change in Tanzania held in the University of Dar es Salaam in September, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare stated that:

> "...If family planning services are not part of the set of health services available to all the people, then family planning will continue to be a facility available only to well-to-do families who are already converted to the idea. And this will continue to perpetuate existing social inequalities."

At the same seminar a representative of the Ministry of Health stated that a comprehensive review of the maternal and child health services was being undertaken. Training of maternal and child health aides would begin in each region. Comprehensive services would be provided within the same clinic for the first time. In December the Ministry of Health stated that by 1980 it was planned that every dispensary would have on its staff

a midwife trained in family planning, in addition to the other services provided by the maternal and child health centres.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Population Inquiry in May 1976 the Government indicated that its child spacing and maternal and child health services were intended to resolve the problems which fertility presented for family well-being. The Government had no measures whose purpose was to adjust the aggregate level of fertility, and hence its contribution to rates of natural increase.

During 1975, with assistance from Sweden, Norway and the United States, a substantial expansion in maternal and child health programme occurred, with training centres established in each region and district. The President of the Family Planning Association (UMATI) stated that family planning clinics were to be established in each village. During this period the Association had become for all practical purposes an organ of the Women's Association of Tanzania (UWT), which was in turn an organ of the government party, TANU. In this sense it was not in fact a non-governmental agency.

In addition to this primary emphasis upon the integration of family planning services in maternal and child health for the purposes of child-spacing, the Government, at the end of the period under discussion, began preparations for the abolition of tax allowances for children, and for changes in the regulations concerning paid maternity leave. Although this was still to be available for employed women for a period of three months, it could not be granted more frequently than once in three years. This was intended to be an inducement to more appropriate child-spacing. In 1971 the minimum age at marriage had been established at 15 for women and 18 for men, but this had not been intended to have a significant demographic impact.

It is probable that the expansion of these activities reflected in part an appreciation of the results of surveys of fertility behaviour in relation to health and education. These had shown that, although a decline in desired and achieved size of family occurred for women with higher levels of education, for those who completed primary education (and it was the Government's policy to emphasize within its education sector the improvement in levels of primary school attendance), the number of children born was higher than for women with no education. This was considered to reflect improved child care and nutrition. The coincidence of improved health facilities in regions with improved education was also indicative of the factors involved. The need to prevent such increases in fertility as modernization expanded in these respects had already been mentioned by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in 1974.

## Immigration

Recurrent and temporary labour immigration had been a characteristic of the trusteeship period as there was a general scarcity of labour in regions in which the modern sector was located. This was serious in certain regions, notably in the north-east, where plantations were adjacent to densely populated areas in which peasant production for the market was already well established. Such labour movements were particularly strong from Malawi, Burundi and Rwanda, with some movement also from the Lake Region of Kenya, while more permanent movements to coastal cities occurred from Comoros and Seychelles. Although welcomed for the labour provided, there was concern particularly with the health hazards of their entry from uncontrolled areas.

With the increase in the country's own labour force. and with the expansion of employment possibilities in Kenya, ethnic disturbances in Burundi and Rwanda, and political difficulties with Malawi, such regular movements declined during the period. They were replaced, however, by refugee movements, notably from Burundi in the mid 1960s and in 1972, and from Mozambique as a result of the progress there of the war of liberation against the Portuguese occupation. With the achievement by that country of its independence this movement ceased, and the repatriation of refugees began. At the end of the period under discussion there was virtually no immigration of demographic significance. This situation was confirmed by the Government in its reply to the Third United Nations Population Inquiry in May 1976.

## Emigration

During the trusteeship period labour recruitment for employment in the South African mines was permitted in the south-western region of the country, as an extension of similar activities in adjacent areas of Malawi and Zambia. This was prohibited after independence. A small movement occurred from the same region to the Zambian copper belt, but this became less significant during the period under discussion. For most of the period, emigration did not occur, and this situation was confirmed by the Government in its reply to the Third United Nations Population Inquiry in May 1976. Here, it noted also that the problem of "brain drain" was also insignificant. This was largely the result of the Government's policies in labour planning and higher education, with their emphasis upon the provision of full training within the country, and careful allocation of students to fields in which it was known that vacancies would occur, notably in scientific and technical subjects.

## Spatial distribution

### Information available to the Government

The main characteristics of the distribution of the population were fairly well known to the administration during the trusteeship period as a result of the 1948 census and administrative surveys. The proportion resident in urban areas was known to be very small, but expansion was rapid in Dar es Salaam, which increased by 50 per cent to 99,000 between 1948-1952. Other urban centres--ports and district administrative centres inland--had very small populations. The pattern of distribution of the rural population was characterized by concentration in "islands" of relatively high density, particularly away from the centre of national territory, separated by large areas of very low densities. Substantial migration of young adult males occurred, principally from the high density areas to the centres of modern sector expansion, in urban areas, plantations and mines.

The 1957 census revealed that the urban population constituted about 4 per cent of the total. Almost one third of this was located in Dar es Salaam.

By 1967 very little significant change had occurred. The proportion of the population in urban centres having at least 8,000 innabitants was 5.7 per cent. Although the rate of urbanization in mainland Tanzania was expected to be between 7 and 10 per cent, thi would result in a proportion in 1980 of only 10 per cent of the total population. The total population of Dar es Salaam was 128,000. The second largest town was the second port of the country, Tanga, with 62,000. Nine other urban centres had populations of between 20,000 and 50,000. However, the rate of growth of the population in Dar es Salaam continued to be higher than the average for the larger centres, and in October 1973 it was estimated that its population had reached 400,000.

The information provided by the 1967 census was utilized in numerous studies of population distribution in relation to natural resources, particularly in relation to land and water resources, these studies being undertaken notably by the Bureau of Resources and Land Use Planning of the University of Dar es Salaam in conjunction with the Bureau of Statistics.

Between 1967 and 1976, the carrying out of the Government's programmes of rural development and notably that of "villagization" resulted in the relocation of a high proportion of the rural population. These movements were local in character, involving mainly short-distance concentration of formerly dispersed patterns of settlement. The analysis of the 1967 census suggested that long-distance labour migration by single males had declined in importance, and was being replaced by family movement. There was a horizontal expansion of the densely populated "islands" of settlement into adjacent unoccupied areas.

Government perception of spatial distribution

With an urban population likely to represent less than 10 per cent of the total until at least 1980, the Government has not considered that an accelerating rate of urbanization constituted a problem in itself. However, with the more rapid increase of the population of Dar es Salaam, a view that that city's primacy was excessive came to be formed, although this concerned the generative power of its economy and its absorption of investments rather than the size of its population. With regard to the pattern of distribution of the rural population, it was acknowledged throughout the period that the separation of the principal settled areas by wide unoccupied areas was unsatisfactory, that the population densities in certain of the high density areas was already excessive, and that the patterns of isolated location in many rural areas was in itself a severe constraint upon the Government's efforts to provide basic economic and social infrastructure and services.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Population Inquiry the Government stated that the present distribution of population was not appropriate and was in need of a major change in order that satisfactory protection of the environment, utilization of natural resources and well-being of the population might be achieved. Minor changes only were needed in order that the spatial distribution satisfy requirements for full employment. Population growth in the metropolitan region and in urban centres in other regions, was considered to be too fast, but positive rates of growth in rural areas were not considered to constrain development. The rate of settlement of sparsely populated or unpopulated areas was considered satisfactory.

Policy with regard to spatial distribution

Under the trusteeship administration there was no attempt to adjust the rate of population increase of urban centres. The greater part of investments in infrastructure were allocated to Dar es Salaam and to the principal towns, and in 1955 it was planned that the population of Dar es Salaam should rise to about 200,000, about double its current total. The control of what was then described as "influx"--rural to urban migration--was considered not desirable in the mid 1950s, but in 1960 one report recommended that such migrants be dissuaded from entering urban centres unless they had previously arranged employment.

During the period prior to the Arusha Declaration measures were introduced which attempt, among other things, to reduce the wage differential between rural and urban areas. The Arusha Declaration, which emphasized a policy of restraint and reduction in the availability of luxury goods and services, had the effect of reducing the relative attraction of the principal urban centres, and notably of Dar es Salaam, but until the second development plan the greater part of investment in manufacturing had been in fact located there, as had a high proportion of infrastructural development and housing.

The second five-year plan, for the period 1969-1974, gave substantial emphasis to the appropriate development of the country's urban system. In his speech introducing the plan to the TANU conference in May 1969, President Nyerere pointed out that the Government's decision to give top priority to rural development had implications for the proportion of investment in urban areas. Less money and less manpower could be devoted to urban areas, and limits were placed upon infrastructural expenditure. Although the allocation to urban areas would be concentrated upon areas where less highly paid workers were resident, the President pointed out that "very little new development will be possible unless there is a great increase in the amount of self-help work done in towns".

Although the development of urban centres in general was to be kept within strict limits, it had been decided to expand nine towns and also Dar es Salaam as growth centres. To these "poles" new factories and other employment opportunities would be diverted:

> "If we tried to spread our efforts over more than 10 towns in this next period, we should find that we do not have urban growth centres at all; we should just have what we have now--a number of small towns none of which has got sufficient industry and public services to make it an attractive economic proposition for the siting of new factories. By concentrating our attention on the towns selected, at least two or three should be able to stand on their own by the end of this Plan period."

It was explicitly intended that the growth centres stimulate, and act in concert with, programmes of rural development. It was intended to disperse the growth centres in order to achieve maximum impact upon the rural population. It was intended, in addition to the planned location of new factories outside Dar es Salaam, to decentralize certain government activities.

During the period of implementation of the second five-year plan the Government noted that the tendency toward concentration in Dar es Salaam was continuing, and introduced a more effective system of licensing to ensure that industrial expansion was restricted as far as possible to the nine growth centres outside the metropolitan centre.

As part of the programme of decentralization the Government decided in 1973 to move the capital of the country from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma, located approximately in the centre of the country, and potentially more accessible to each of its regions. It was intended to complete the transfer to the new capital, which would eventually have a population of about 150,000, by 1980. However, the economic difficulties of 1973 and 1974 delayed the programme, and by 1976 it had been decided to postpone its completion until 1985. By the end of the year the population had already risen to about 60,000 and the transfer of certain government functions had already taken place.

Policies with regard to the pattern of distribution of the rural population during the period of trusteeship administration had been characterized by an interest in settlement schemes, of which the unsuccessful "ground-nut scheme" had been the largest. It had been intended to establish highly capitalized settlements in unoccupied but fertile areas by means of irrigation schemes. One principal objective was the relief of "congestion" in the high density "islands". In its report the World Bank mission recommended both a what was termed a "transformation" approach, which involved highly capitalized settlement projects, as well as what was termed an "improvement" approach, involving extension work among existing occupied areas.

In its first five-year plan the "transformation" approach was given considerable emphasis, and a target of 1 million relocated settlers by the end of the 1970s was adopted. However, in 1968 these settlement projects were discontinued, as their very high cost in relation to population and production was considered unacceptable in view of the opportunity costs considered available in the small-scale improvement of technology among the population in their existing areas.

With the adoption of the Arusha Declaration, which stated that the foundations of socialism must be built in the rural areas as the underlying guide to development, and because of that Declaration's emphasis upon an approach to rural development based upon self-reliance, a programme of socialism and rural development was adopted in 1967. In that year the programme ujamaa vijijini was begun. This approach to rural development was fully integrated within the second five-year plan, for the period 1969-1974: The fundamental principles guiding the plan in relation to the rural sector are:

(a) That rural development receives top priority, as most of our latest wealth lies in our under-utilized land and in the energies of the rural people;

(b) That during the second plan significant progress will be made towards the goal of socialist organization of rural economic activity, both through the application of the principles of ujamaa vijijini and through the expansion of other forms of co-operative productive activity;

(c) That the desired social change will be achieved in the context of a programme of planned output expansion, based upon a system of crop priorities and the improvement of productivity through energetic promotion of modern agricultural techniques.

In his introductory speech to the plan, President Nyerere stated that the original programme of gradual introduction of communal "familyhood villages" within certain regions was to be changed to a "wide-spread frontal attack".

The plan noted that:

> "The programme of rural development is fashioned in response to the expansion in the rural labour force expected in the second plan period and in pursuit of the socialist objectives we have set ourselves. Only a small part of the increase in the total work force can expect urban employment, even if the most optimistic hopes for economic performance in the period 1969-74 are exceeded. This means that there will be growing availability of labour throughout the countryside. Rural mobilization is therefore both an economic opportunity and social challenge. More than 1 million additional adults will become available for rural economic activity during the period 1969-1974: the biggest task facing us is to ensure that this major asset is used to the full in creating development. Self-reliance may be interpreted as, on the one hand, the mobilization of local resources for development, while on the other, avoiding dependence on foreign resources."

By the end of 1973 there were about 5,000 villages established with a total population of about 3 million. Because of this positive response, because of the continued problems of providing services and support to dispersed populations, and particularly because of the drought conditions of 1973 and 1974, the TANU congress of 1973 decided to revise the strategy. It was decided to require residence in ujamaa villages for the entire rural population by the end of 1976. Accordingly, during the period 1974-1976 about 10 million rural inhabitants were resettled, and in mid 1976 the total in ujamaa and associated villages was 13 million. The first years were coincident with an emergency food production programme. Although there were acknowledged problems during the resettlement process, peasant objections were partly assuaged by a rapid expansion in adult education, basic health and piped water services. During 1976 a shift in educational policy occurred, with emphasis upon primary rather than secondary education. The type of primary education was carefully attuned to the needs of the rural economy and life, and was intended to avoid the relatively expensive training of youths who would afterwards move immediately to the major urban centres rather than contribute to the development of rural areas.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout the period under discussion the Government has been led by President Nyerere and by TANU. Although there have occurred periods of economic difficulty, there has been an uninterrupted evolution of the Government's position on development and upon the nature of the relationship between demographic and other processes within society.

The examination of the experience of the Government in the formulation and implementation of population policy has shown the evolution of its position from one in which demographic behaviour in itself was not accorded very high attention, to a position in which the need for such close attention was fully acknowledged. However, this has been characterized by its appreciation of the relative priorities to be attached to adjustment of demographic rather than technological and organizational processes, and by a realistic view of the effectiveness of the means whereby desired adjustments in the demographic behaviour of a sufficient proportion of the population might be achieved, given the existing cultural context and the resources available to the Government. In the formulation of policy, and the preparation of plans and programmes, a very high level of integration among agencies involved has been characteristic. Paradoxically, the evolution of the Government's policy with regard to the demographic behaviour of the population has been so carefully considered that its degree of integration within over-all development policy formulation and planning is complete.

Of particular interest is the contrast which has been evident in the acceptance by the Government of the desirability and feasibility of a very direct and substantial adjustment in the patterns of spatial distribution of the rural population, relative to its reluctance to adopt other than a very gradual and persuasive policy with regard to fertility behaviour, even though it is hoped that the impact of the measures undertaken in that field will be considered in the long term, at least with regard to qualitative aspects. Policy with regard to emigration has been similarly direct: movements to certain countries has been simply banned. With regard to morbidity and mortality, possibly the key to many aspects of the successful adjustment of demographic behaviour to attune better to economic and social processes, the Government was relatively slow during the early part of the period in allocating sufficient resources and in designing appropriate policies. However, during the second half of the period under discussion it advanced rapidly in this area.

United Republic of Tanzania: Selected demographic indicators, 1950-2000

| Medium variant | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population, total (in 1000) ..... | 7892 | 8875 | 10073 | 11520 | 13273 | 15438 | 18052 | 21142 | 24805 | 29130 | 34045 |
| -- , males ( -- ) ..... | 3631 | 4146 | 4779 | 5548 | 6488 | 7577 | 8894 | 10449 | 12288 | 14458 | 16922 |
| -- , females ( -- ) ..... | 4262 | 4728 | 5294 | 5972 | 6785 | 7861 | 9158 | 10694 | 12517 | 14673 | 17124 |
| Pop. ages 0-4 to total (0/0) .... | 19.2 | 19.2 | 19.2 | 19.1 | 19.1 | 19.4 | 19.3 | 19.0 | 18.7 | 18.4 | 17.7 |
| -- 5-14 -- | 26.5 | 26.9 | 27.1 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 27.6 | 28.0 | 28.1 | 27.9 | 27.9 |
| -- 15-64 -- | 51.2 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 50.9 | 50.6 | 50.5 | 50.7 | 51.0 | 51.7 |
| -- 65+ -- | 3.2 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 2.7 |
| --- under 20 -- | 55.8 | 56.3 | 56.7 | 56.8 | 56.9 | 57.1 | 57.3 | 57.4 | 57.4 | 57.1 | 56.3 |
| Women ages 15-49 to females (0/0) ..... | 45.0 | 45.3 | 45.5 | 45.7 | 45.7 | 45.1 | 44.3 | 43.7 | 43.9 | 44.4 | 45.0 |
| Dependency ratios (per 1000) ..... | 953.2 | 957.9 | 957.9 | 956.1 | 956.5 | 965.5 | 976.8 | 981.9 | 974.0 | 958.9 | 933.5 |
| Child-woman ratios (per 1000) ..... | 788.5 | 796.0 | 801.8 | 807.6 | 818.0 | 843.6 | 859.3 | 860.5 | 845.6 | 825.4 | 782.1 |
| Sex ratios (per 100 females) ..... | 85.2 | 87.7 | 90.3 | 92.9 | 95.6 | 96.4 | 97.1 | 97.7 | 98.2 | 98.5 | 98.8 |
| Median ages (years) ..... | 17.1 | 16.9 | 16.8 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 16.6 | 16.5 | 16.4 | 16.5 | 16.7 | 17.0 |
| Proportion of urban (0/0) ..... | 3.6 | 4.1 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 8.7 | 9.8 | 11.1 | 12.5 |
| Population density (per sq. km.) ..... | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 22 | 26 | 31 | 36 |
| | 1950-1955 | 1955-1960 | 1960-1965 | 1965-1970 | 1970-1975 | 1975-1980 | 1980-1985 | 1985-1990 | 1990-1195 | 1995-2000 | |
| Rates of growth (0/0) ..... | 2.35 | 2.53 | 2.69 | 2.83 | 3.02 | 3.13 | 3.16 | 3.20 | 3.21 | 3.12 | |
| Natural increase rates (0/00) ..... | 23.4 | 25.3 | 26.8 | 28.3 | 30.2 | 31.2 | 31.5 | 31.9 | 32.1 | 31.1 | |
| Crude birth rates ( -- ) ..... | 51.6 | 51.3 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.2 | 49.3 | 47.6 | 46.1 | 44.7 | 42.2 | |
| Crude death rates ( -- ) ..... | 28.2 | 26.0 | 23.7 | 22.2 | 20.1 | 18.0 | 16.1 | 14.2 | 12.6 | 11.1 | |
| Gross reproduction rates ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3.30 | 3.30 | 3.25 | 3.16 | 3.01 | 2.79 | |
| Net reproduction rates ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2.22 | 2.32 | 2.38 | 2.41 | 2.38 | 2.28 | |
| Total fertility rates (0/00) ... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 6706 | 6706 | 6604 | 6421 | 6104 | 5664 | |
| General fertility rates ( -- ) ... | 213.0 | 213.5 | 212.2 | 214.7 | 217.0 | 216.9 | 213.6 | 208.3 | 200.6 | 187.4 | |
| Life expectancy, males (years) ... | 32.7 | 35.2 | 37.6 | 40.2 | 42.9 | 45.4 | 47.8 | 50.3 | 52.7 | 55.1 | |
| -- , females ( -- ) ... | 35.9 | 38.4 | 40.9 | 43.4 | 46.1 | 48.7 | 51.2 | 53.8 | 56.3 | 58.7 | |
| -- , total ( -- ) ... | 34.2 | 36.7 | 39.2 | 41.8 | 44.5 | 47.0 | 49.5 | 52.0 | 54.5 | 56.9 | |

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| High variant | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population, total (in 1000) ..... | 7892 | 8875 | 10073 | 11520 | 13273 | 15438 | 18083 | 21305 | 25226 | 30002 | 35748 |
| -- , males ( -- ) ..... | 3631 | 4146 | 4779 | 5548 | 6488 | 7577 | 8910 | 10530 | 12500 | 14898 | 17783 |
| -- , females ( -- ) ..... | 4262 | 4728 | 5294 | 5972 | 6785 | 7861 | 9173 | 10775 | 12726 | 15104 | 17965 |
| Pop. ages 0-4 to total (0/0) ..... | 19.2 | 19.2 | 19.2 | 19.1 | 19.1 | 19.4 | 19.4 | 19.3 | 19.3 | 19.2 | 18.9 |
| -- 5-14 -- | 26.5 | 26.9 | 27.1 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 27.6 | 28.0 | 28.2 | 28.3 | 28.4 |
| -- 15-64 -- | 51.2 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 50.9 | 50.5 | 50.2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.1 |
| -- 65+ -- | 3.2 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 2.6 |
| -- under 20 -- | 55.8 | 56.3 | 56.7 | 56.8 | 56.9 | 57.1 | 57.3 | 57.6 | 57.9 | 58.0 | 57.9 |
| Women ages 15-49 to females (0/0) ..... | 45.0 | 45.3 | 45.5 | 45.7 | 45.7 | 45.1 | 44.3 | 43.5 | 43.4 | 43.4 | 43.6 |
| Dependency ratios (per 1000) ..... | 953.2 | 957.9 | 957.9 | 956.1 | 956.5 | 965.5 | 978.8 | 992.9 | 998.5 | 1001.0 | 997.7 |
| Child-woman ratios (per 1000) ..... | 788.5 | 796.0 | 801.8 | 807.6 | 818.0 | 843.6 | 862.4 | 879.5 | 879.4 | 877.3 | 864.3 |
| Sex ratios (per 100 females) ..... | 85.2 | 87.7 | 90.3 | 92.9 | 95.6 | 96.4 | 97.1 | 97.7 | 98.2 | 98.6 | 99.0 |
| Median ages (years) ..... | 17.1 | 16.9 | 16.8 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 16.6 | 16.4 | 16.3 | 16.2 | 16.2 | 16.3 |
| Proportion of urban (0/0) ..... | 3.6 | 4.1 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 6.9 | 7.9 | 9.2 | 10.7 | 12.5 | 14.7 |
| Population density (per sq.km.) ..... | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 23 | 27 | 32 | 38 |
| | 1950-1955 | 1955-1960 | 1960-1965 | 1965-1970 | 1970-1975 | 1975-1980 | 1980-1985 | 1985-1990 | 1990-1995 | 1995-2000 | |
| Rates of growth (0/0) ..... | 2.35 | 2.53 | 2.69 | 2.83 | 3.02 | 3.16 | 3.28 | 3.38 | 3.47 | 3.51 | |
| Natural increase rates (0/00) ..... | 23.4 | 25.3 | 26.8 | 28.3 | 30.2 | 31.6 | 32.7 | 33.7 | 34.6 | 35.0 | |
| Crude birth rates ( -- ) ..... | 51.6 | 51.3 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.2 | 49.2 | 48.2 | 47.1 | 46.2 | 44.9 | |
| Crude death rates ( -- ) ..... | 28.2 | 26.0 | 23.7 | 22.2 | 20.1 | 17.7 | 15.4 | 13.4 | 11.6 | 9.9 | |
| Gross reproduction rates ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3.30 | 3.30 | 3.30 | 3.27 | 3.19 | 3.07 | |
| Net reproduction rates ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2.22 | 2.34 | 2.46 | 2.55 | 2.59 | 2.58 | |
| Total fertility rates (0/00) ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 6706 | 6706 | 6706 | 6645 | 6482 | 6226 | |
| General fertility rates ( -- ) ..... | 213.0 | 213.5 | 212.2 | 214.7 | 217.0 | 216.9 | 216.8 | 214.7 | 211.0 | 205.1 | |
| Life expectancy, males (years) ..... | 32.7 | 35.2 | 37.6 | 40.2 | 42.9 | 45.9 | 48.8 | 51.8 | 54.7 | 57.5 | |
| -- , females ( -- ) ..... | 35.9 | 38.4 | 40.9 | 43.4 | 46.1 | 49.2 | 52.2 | 55.3 | 58.3 | 61.2 | |
| -- , total ( -- ) ..... | 34.2 | 36.7 | 39.2 | 41.8 | 44.5 | 47.5 | 50.5 | 53.5 | 56.5 | 59.3 | |



/...

| | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population, total (in 1000) ..... | 7892 | 8875 | 10073 | 11520 | 13273 | 15438 | 17969 | 20869 | 24130 | 27557 | 30756 |
| -- , males ( -- ) ..... | 3631 | 4146 | 4779 | 5548 | 6488 | 7577 | 8852 | 10311 | 11948 | 13666 | 15266 |
| -- , females ( -- ) ..... | 4262 | 4728 | 5294 | 5972 | 6785 | 7861 | 9117 | 10558 | 12182 | 13891 | 15490 |
| Pop. ages 0-4 to total (0/0) ..... | 19.2 | 19.2 | 19.2 | 19.1 | 19.1 | 19.4 | 19.1 | 18.5 | 17.8 | 16.5 | 14.2 |
| -- 5-14 -- | 26.5 | 26.9 | 27.1 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 27.7 | 28.0 | 27.8 | 27.5 | 26.9 |
| -- 15-64 -- | 51.2 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 50.9 | 50.8 | 51.0 | 51.8 | 53.3 | 56.0 |
| -- 65+ -- | 3.2 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 2.9 |
| -- under 20 -- | 55.8 | 56.3 | 56.7 | 56.8 | 56.9 | 57.1 | 57.2 | 57.0 | 56.4 | 55.0 | 52.4 |
| Women ages 15-49 to females (0/0) ..... | 45.0 | 45.3 | 45.5 | 45.7 | 45.7 | 45.1 | 44.5 | 44.2 | 45.0 | 46.3 | 48.6 |
| Dependency ratios (per 1000) ..... | 953.2 | 957.9 | 957.9 | 956.1 | 956.5 | 965.5 | 969.2 | 960.4 | 928.9 | 874.5 | 786.2 |
| Child-woman ratios (per 1000) ..... | 788.5 | 796.0 | 801.8 | 807.6 | 818.0 | 843.6 | 843.6 | 827.8 | 784.1 | 704.9 | 580.5 |
| Sex ratios (per 100 females) ..... | 85.2 | 87.7 | 90.3 | 92.9 | 95.6 | 96.4 | 97.1 | 97.7 | 98.1 | 98.4 | 98.6 |
| Median ages (years) ..... | 17.1 | 16.9 | 16.8 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 16.6 | 16.6 | 16.7 | 17.0 | 17.7 | 18.9 |
| Proportion of urban (0/0) ..... | 3.6 | 4.1 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 6.7 | 7.4 | 8.2 | 8.9 | 9.8 | 10.6 |
| Population density (per sq.km.) ..... | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 22 | 26 | 29 | 33 |

| | 1950-1955 | 1955-1960 | 1960-1965 | 1965-1970 | 1970-1975 | 1975-1980 | 1980-1985 | 1985-1990 | 1990-1995 | 1995-2000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rates of growth (0/0) ..... | 2.35 | 2.53 | 2.69 | 2.83 | 3.02 | 3.04 | 2.99 | 2.90 | 2.66 | 2.30 |
| Natural increase rates (0/00) ..... | 23.4 | 25.3 | 26.8 | 28.3 | 30.2 | 30.3 | 29.9 | 29.0 | 26.5 | 21.9 |
| Crude birth rates ( -- ) ..... | 51.6 | 51.3 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.2 | 48.6 | 46.5 | 43.9 | 39.8 | 33.6 |
| Crude death rates ( -- ) ..... | 28.2 | 26.0 | 23.7 | 22.2 | 20.1 | 18.3 | 16.6 | 15.0 | 13.3 | 11.7 |
| Gross reproduction rates ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3.30 | 3.24 | 3.13 | 2.93 | 2.59 | 2.10 |
| Net reproduction rates ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2.22 | 2.26 | 2.25 | 2.19 | 1.99 | 1.66 |
| Total fertility rates (0/00) ..... | -- | -- | -- | -- | 6706 | 6584 | 6348 | 5954 | 5258 | 4263 |
| General fertility rates ( -- ) ..... | 213.0 | 213.5 | 212.2 | 214.7 | 217.0 | 213.8 | 206.8 | 194.9 | 172.9 | 140.4 |
| Life expectancy, males (years) ..... | 32.7 | 35.2 | 37.6 | 40.2 | 42.9 | 44.9 | 46.9 | 48.8 | 50.8 | 52.7 |
| -- , females ( -- ) ..... | 35.9 | 38.4 | 40.9 | 43.4 | 46.1 | 48.1 | 50.2 | 52.2 | 54.3 | 56.3 |
| -- , total ( -- ) ..... | 34.2 | 36.7 | 39.2 | 41.8 | 44.5 | 46.5 | 48.5 | 50.5 | 52.5 | 54.5 |

Source: World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1973. (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.XIII.4).

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